

# The American Observer

*A free, virtuous and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends. — James Monroe*

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## Townsend - Coughlin Groups Join Forces

Leaders of These Movements Will Back William Lemke, Inflationist, for President

### MAY INFLUENCE ELECTION

Some Observers Fear Fascism May Be Outgrowth of Townsend-Coughlin Activities

Although the Townsend old-age pension convention at Cleveland came to a close more than a week ago, there is still considerable discussion over its significance and the influence it may have upon the coming political campaign. If the attendance figures mean anything, or the frenzied enthusiasm and demonstrations which marked the meetings, the Townsend group must be reckoned with as a potent political factor. Nearly 14,000 men and women attended the convention, wildly cheering and applauding those speakers who praised the Townsend plan. Thousands of delegates, young and old, flocked from all parts of the country to register their approval of the old-age pension plan which has been a matter of such controversy during the last few years.

#### Mass Movement

But the size of the attendance is not the only reason why the Cleveland convention must be considered as an important political development. Many see in this meeting the beginnings of a movement which may, in the course of time, have a tremendous influence in the United States. It is significant that at the convention three leaders of mass movements joined forces for at least the duration of the campaign. Dr. Townsend, who claims the support of millions for his old-age pension plan, Father Coughlin, the radio priest whose political broadcasts have been followed regularly by hundreds of thousands of people, and the Reverend Mr. Gerald Smith, who took the leadership of the late Huey Long's share-the-wealth movement upon the latter's assassination, agreed to work together in the political campaign. Two of them, Father Coughlin and the Reverend Mr. Smith, are past masters in the art of stirring the emotions of people by thunderous and dramatic oratory. And Dr. Townsend, although not so effective as an orator, is nevertheless a potent influence who is idolized and regarded as a heaven-sent leader by hundreds of thousands of people. The extent to which these men are capable of stirring the enthusiasm and rousing the emotions of the masses was clearly demonstrated by the spirit which permeated the Cleveland convention.

It is impossible to tell, at this time, whether the followers of these three men will stand as a unit in the campaign and exert a telling influence upon the election. Despite the efforts of Townsend, Smith, and Coughlin, the convention refused to go on record in support of Representative William Lemke, nominee of the newly created Union party and the only presidential candidate thus far to come out in favor of the Townsend plan. In fact, the Townsend delegates appeared to be confused on political issues, with the exception of their own pet theory of correcting the nation's ills through old-age pensions. They cheered madly when Father Coughlin hurled epi-

(Concluded on page 8)



A PROBLEM WHICH AMERICA MUST FACE

To millions of American children, recreational opportunities like this are practically unknown.

## Opportunity and Responsibility

At a time like the present, when the economic skies appear definitely to be clearing, there is danger that the public may lose some of that sense of responsibility for the unfortunate which asserts itself in times of deepest crisis. There is little question but that business prospects are more favorable today, despite the disastrous drought in certain parts of the country, than they have been since the beginning of the depression.

For a long time after the trend turned upward three years ago the unemployment situation appeared still to be almost hopeless. The volume of production moved upward but unemployment continued at about the same figure. More than half a million young men—about 600,000 in fact—come each year to the age when they should have jobs. They are added to the army of employables. For some time the total number of persons employed increased each year only about as rapidly as the number of employables increased. A few more men were taken on, but the number out of work remained the same. Now the employment statistics tell a better story. The official reports are that for the first four months of the present year private industry was taking on additional men at the rate of 250,000 a month. If this were continued for a year as there is prospect that it will be, the number would reach 3,000,000. Subtract from this the number of young men who, for the first time, are requiring jobs this year and we would have unemployment diminished by about two and a half million. Assuming that we now have 10,000,000 unemployed, four years of such recovery would do away with unemployment. Of course, that is not likely to happen. The rate of recovery may be accelerated for a while and all but a few million may be employed. But we are not likely to reach the place where everyone will have work—not even all who are employable.

But in our present hopefulness it would be unjust to the point of wickedness for us to neglect the needs of the millions who are still unable to find jobs. We do have a relief problem. Thousands of families are destitute. Hunger does stalk the land. And despite the relief which is given, there are cases of malnutrition and starvation. There can be valid arguments as to how relief should be administered; whether it should be by the nation or by the states and communities. There can be no question among decent, self-respecting people about giving relief to those who are in distress. That is an obligation which Americans cannot avoid. America must lend a helping hand to those who cannot find a place in the economic life and it must provide an opportunity for the nation's youth.

## War Danger Spreads Gloom in All Europe

People Abroad, Particularly Those in France, Feel that Dark Days Lie Ahead

### EVEN BRITISHERS DOWNCAST

Besides War Threat, People Are Anxious About Their Future Economic and Political Security

By Paul D. Miller

*THE author of this article has just returned from Europe where he has spent several weeks studying political and economic conditions for THE AMERICAN OBSERVER.*

It is always difficult to gauge public sentiment in any country—especially when one's visit is brief. There are always so many conflicting currents of feeling and opinion that anything like a complete or accurate picture is impossible. Nevertheless, one can, if he talks to people in different walks of life, gain certain impressions of the things which seem important; things about which people feel intensely and which influence their daily lives. It is only a few of these rambling impressions that I shall attempt to set forth in this article. In no sense should they be accepted as more than impressions. I may have erred in putting my finger on the temper of the various Europeans with whom I came in contact this summer.

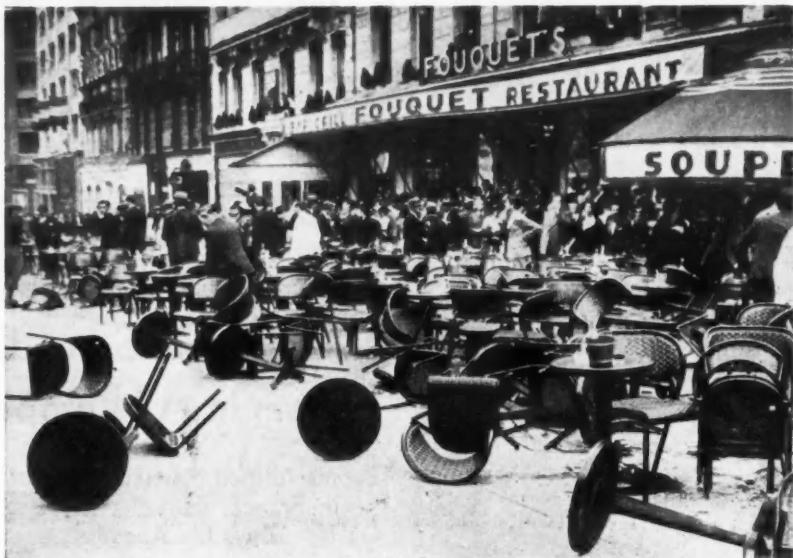
#### Pessimistic Mood

Insofar as I was able to discern a general mood among the people of Europe, it was one of pessimism born of uncertainty over the future. This feeling seemed to permeate the atmosphere not only of France but also of Switzerland, a country which is generally noted for its calm complacency and sense of security for the future. Everywhere—whether it were in the compartments of trains, in private homes, in hotel lobbies, in cafés or restaurants, or on the streets—one met people who shrugged their shoulders as if to say, "Who knows what will happen to us?"

Of course, the basic cause of this feeling of despair is the uncertainty over the future of peace in Europe. The clouds of war hang heavily on the horizon, and even the illiterate peasant or workman who refuses to follow or fails to understand the complicated maneuvering of high diplomacy senses the fate to which Europe may be leaning. "I tell you," says the Parisian, "that for three days we did not close our eyes when Hitler sent his troops into the Rhineland. We did not know when we would hear the droning of airplanes and the firing of guns. It is terrible to live in such fear. We do not want war. We have nothing against the Germans. But we know that we will some day take up arms against them, for their present militarism will lead inevitably to war."

Such misgivings are to be found among the Swiss as well as the French. When the day of doom comes, many intelligent inhabitants of Switzerland feel, Germany will have no more respect for their neutrality than she had for Belgium's in 1914. This I found to be a new and unexpected phenomenon, for in the past, the Swiss have considered themselves beyond the pale of the general European turmoil. They have felt that whatever happened to the rest of Europe, they would be secure and outside the actual danger zone. But the flagrant violation of treaties by the Nazi government





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A CAFE RECENTLY WRECKED BY FRENCH FASCISTS

has given rise to a feeling of alarm and insecurity.

### Economic Roots

The pessimistic outlook is not motivated solely by the fear of a new war. Economic conditions are such as to discourage many of the people. One feels on all hands that business in France and Switzerland is not improving as it is in this country. The general atmosphere is not unlike that which we experienced here during the dark days of 1932 and the early part of 1933. Switzerland, which depends for her prosperity so largely upon the tourist trade, has been particularly hard hit, for by remaining on the gold standard she is unable to attract foreigners. Living expenses are so high that they simply cannot afford to spend much time there. There is a widespread feeling that the government should take active measures, as the governments of Germany, Italy, Austria, and certain other nations have done, to encourage the tourist trade; that is, by giving them discounts when they buy Swiss francs. In a word, many of the Swiss feel that they have not yet turned the corner and that they are still in a period of deflation, whereas in the United States the prevailing view is that we are on the upward side of the business cycle.

The cause of the general unrest in France seems to be more political than economic. At least the people seem to think that the remedies for the economic ills must come through political action. Never have I known political discussions in France to be so heated and intense as this year. Of course, this may have resulted from the fact that the government of the Popular Front was only swinging into action and that the whole nation was in the midst of a wave of strikes. But among the students of the Latin Quarter of Paris, in the corner cafés of Paris, in the subways; in fact, all over France, political discussions seemed to occupy the major part of the people's free time. "The Croix de Feu offers the only salvation of France," one group would contend. "I hate the Croix de Feu" would be the inevitable reply, and backward and forward the arguments would go, with temperatures rising to what appeared an apoplectic degree. In the end, however, the crowds would disperse with friendly hand-clasps and other demonstrations of comradeship.

### Disgust for Politics

It is difficult to imagine the contempt which a large number of Frenchmen have for politics and politicians. Few people I met had much confidence in the present government. It was generally felt that the Popular Front would soon disintegrate—as it was, in fact, already beginning to do during my stay there. The extreme radicals and various un-

ruly agitators were blamed for the strikes and the general confusion. Even among many liberals, Premier Blum is regarded as a well-enough-intentioned man, but as one who is highly ineffectual. The conservatives naturally have the utmost contempt for the Popular Front and never fail, in their newspapers and in the placards which they affix to walls and billboards, to place the blame for the present plight of France squarely upon the shoulders of the liberals and the radicals. "You asked for it, Frenchmen, now you have it," is their oft-repeated taunt, with the cheerful afterthought that "it is not too late if you will give us a chance."

The general disgust for politicians has led to a fairly widespread feeling in France that perhaps salvation might come through the establishment of a dictatorship. "We have too much liberty in France," was a sentiment often expressed. "What we need is a strong government, even *une dictature*, to get us out of the mess we are in." When reminded that the French people love their civil liberties—freedom of speech and press and assembly—and that such liberties are not generally a characteristic of dictatorship, the usual reply would be a vigorous shrug of the shoulders and a "Well, of course, the French temperament would never support a dictatorship very long, but something drastic must be done."

### During the Strikes

While the strikes were in progress, there were few disorders, and, as a general thing, the cities were calm and peaceful on the surface. For example, when a delegation of strikers marched up to one of the largest hotels on the Riviera and boarded up the



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SALUTING DER FUEHRER

windows and doors, tacking up the sign, "The hotel is closed," a casual observer was hardly aware that anything unusual was happening. A few of the curious stopped to see if there were going to be any excitement, but they were soon disappointed. And even the few strikers who kept watch during the night gave the impression of people who had no place to sleep and were availing themselves of the luxurious hotel steps much as destitute Americans would use the public park bench. Occasionally, there would be a temporary flurry of excitement as a small group of Communist strikers would express, in very picturesque French, their opinion of their coworkers who had refused to walk out with them, or as a delegation of some 50 or 60 strikers marched into a café to demand that all the waiters join them in the strike. But of demonstrations that might lead to riots there were few, and the groups that assembled in the streets to discuss the latest developments were quick to disperse as soon as the policeman gave the word to circulate.

### Defeatism

The double uncertainty over the future of peace and economic stability has done much to undermine the morale of the young people of France, those who are just emerging from college and preparing to embark upon their life's career. Every Frenchman, to whatever class he belongs, dreams mainly of one thing. He looks forward to the day when he will have saved enough money to live on his investments. To some this dream is a small farm with a few chickens, a cow, a small garden, just enough to produce the essentials of life, so that they may spend their final days in quiet and security. To others, it is a question of a fixed monthly income sufficiently large to provide the standard of living to which they have become accustomed. But it is always a dream of economic security.

Now, this dream is by way of being shattered in a good many instances. The years of depression have wiped out the lifelong savings of a good many. Those of the older generation have the bitter memory of the last war which disrupted forever their carefully worked out scheme of things. As a result, many of the French have adopted a philosophy of despair. They are wondering if it is worth the struggle to save and build for a security which they may never realize. This attitude I found not among a few of the younger generation, but among the majority of the young people with whom I talked. Characteristic of this point of view was the logic of a young Frenchman who had decided to take nearly all his savings and visit America.

"Five years ago," he said, "I would never have dreamed of such a thing. Then, my course would have been clearly indicated. I would have used my savings to start a business, or if I had found a position I would have added to them year by year until I had enough to retire and live quietly. But now I cannot feel that such is the wisest course. We all know that next year or the year after, war will come and I shall have to go. Besides, I do not know what the French government is going to do. My money is all tied up in electric shares, and with such a radical government in power, it is almost certain that the electric industry will be nationalized. Then I will lose everything. At least I will have something to show for my money if I take the trip to America. Why not live while there is yet time?"

### Action Demanded

Defeatism and despair of this kind are not so tragic as many other instances one finds in France at present. Tragedy stalks the streets of France, occasionally assuming a dramatic form. It is not infrequent that crowds will gather as two young workers engage in heated controversy. "I cannot support myself and my mother on 200 francs a month [about \$13]," one will

cry out. "For years we have been starving while the politicians have been talking and our employers have been getting fat. We must have better conditions. The government must do something for us." "But do you expect this government to do anything for you?" his friend asks. "This government will be the same as all others we have had. It will talk and promise and we will listen and continue to starve."

At this point, a pair of policemen would come along, ordering the crowd to move on. As the group breaks up into twos and threes, one hears murmurs of "They are right; something must be done," and "Yes, but what is to be done?" And the shaking of heads is indicative of the general perplexity and pessimism over the future.

Perhaps the most encouraging note in this general symphony is the fact that people are politically conscious. Public problems interest the French as vitally as their personal problems. They are thinking about the big issues and problems of the day and talking constantly about them. It is the exception rather than the rule to find a group of Frenchmen, such as students, discussing anything but the political and economic problems confronting France and the world. It may be that from this very consciousness of the seriousness of the problems of the day France will



SAME OLD ROUTINE

—Elderman in Washington Post

be able to work out her destiny and overcome her ills.

If there is any uniformity of opinion among the French on international matters, it is the belief that the preservation of peace through international organization is no longer possible and that something else must be tried.

As one leaves Europe, it is not with the feeling that the worst is now over. Trying days lie ahead. But the situation is not necessarily hopeless, for if a solution to the outstanding problems can be found, Europe may emerge from her present abyss. The future, however, is so definitely linked to the problem of war and peace and that of breaking the back of the depression that no calculations are possible without taking these issues into account. It is these two issues that cloud the skies most and it is upon their final outcome that the future history of Europe will be determined.

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# AROUND THE WORLD



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GENERAL FRANCISCO FRANCO

**Spain:** Like tenuous curls of smoke issuing from the fissures of a volcanic peak, discontent broke out last week in widespread parts of Spanish territory. Hardly had the authorities time to heed the warning when sections of the army rebelled and all Spain was in the throes of a civil war, citizens of the republic clashing fiercely with one another. Thrice, within the space of 24 hours, the government changed hands. From Cadiz and Seville in the south and from Barcelona in the north came reports of fighting between the loyal troops and the insurgents. As the fortunes of the rebels waned or advanced, conflicting announcements were broadcast over the radio. Now could be heard the voice of a government spokesman reassuring the Spaniards that the situation was under control. Now the voice had changed and a spokesman for the rebellious forces gave equal assurance that Madrid was about to fall. Wild rumors were current, such as the one that 25,000 had been slain. One correspondent reported that in various cities the streets were littered with corpses, while loyal citizens prowled through alleys, guns and daggers in hand, desperately searching out the enemies of the republic which they had set up five years ago when they exiled Dictator Primo de Rivera and his puppet monarch.

As we go to press, the rebellion still continues, despite the fact that the government appears to have the upper hand. Because of the strict censorship that has been imposed upon all dispatches and telephonic messages, it is as yet impossible to ascertain the true state of affairs. It is only slightly less difficult to record accurately the series of events during the past week. A cautious sifting of the conflicting reports and the garbled cables reveals, however, certain facts which lend themselves to a coherent story.

Two weeks ago, Spain had reached another of her numerous crises when a monarchist deputy in the parliament was assassinated. A state of alarm was decreed by the cabinet and in protest over the murder, 40 monarchist deputies resigned. This incident was but the most spectacular of many that had taken place since the victory of the leftist Popular Front at the February elections. Strikes had been becoming more and more frequent and the fascist opposition to the régime had been increasing in violence. This opposition became especially bitter when the government decided to purge its army of dissident elements. Among those relieved of duty was a group of officers in the foreign legion stationed in the Spanish protectorate of Morocco.

The rebellion thus started in this African colony, which is separated from Spain by the narrow Strait of Gibraltar. The insur-

gent troops seized the palace of the high commissioner and they were joined by officers of warships sent by the government to crush the revolt. With the aid of these vessels soldiers were shipped to the mainland where they were met with other revolting troops coming from Seville. Meanwhile, the war spread to the north and the loyalist forces found themselves harassed on all sides.

Fortunately for the government, the masses of workers remained loyal and accepted arms to defend it against the fascist opponents. Several thousand miners from the province of Asturias marched into Madrid to defend the republic. With their aid an attempted seizure of the capital during the early hours of dawn was frustrated and Madrid became quiet. Inhabitants of the city listened only to reports over the radio concerning the progress of the rebellion in other less peaceful quarters of their country. To allay fears and to dispel the sorrow that gripped most of them, the broadcasting companies also played music from the operetta "Rose Marie."

The latest reports indicate that General Francisco Franco, leader of the rebellion, has fled the country, and 1,000 officers have been imprisoned. What the effect of this civil war will be it is too early to say. If the leftist government is victorious, as seems likely, it is reasonable to assume that it will swing even further to the left. Some observers maintain that the present incident will prove to be the final step in a movement prophesied long ago by the Russian Soviet saint, Lenin, when he said that Spain will be the first country after Russia to accept communism. Should the revolt prove successful, however, it may be expected that a dictatorship will be set up which will utterly weed out all liberal opinion.

\* \* \*

**France:** Carrying out the promises of the Popular Front program, the French cabinet has introduced into the Chamber of Deputies, and has had accepted, a number of measures, the most important of which deal with the Bank of France and the armaments industry.

Founded by Napoleon, the Bank of France has in recent years been the target of attack by leftist groups. This powerful financial institution had been controlled by a small group of individuals, comprising the 200 largest shareholders. It is they who elected the board of regents in whose hands lay the bank's policy, and consequently the financial control of the government. The new regulations extend the voting rights to all shareholders. Together with representatives of the government, industry, labor, and commerce, they will choose a governing

council which will control the bank in the future.

The second major reform deals with control of arms manufacture. Contrary to an opinion widely current, the government did not, by this measure, take over the industry, but simply sought the right to do so when it should deem such action either advisable or necessary.

A third measure, about which little is heard, abolishes an evil which has been characteristic of French political life for many years. It has been the custom for several of the government ministries, especially that of foreign affairs, to put aside a secret fund to be used for the purchase of favorable editorial opinion in the press. This practice had become so generally accepted in France that it no longer served as a matter for conversation. Obviously, the French people could not hope for impartial news, for the funds had a curious habit of seeping out of the editorial columns into the news dispatches also. Now Premier Blum has abolished this practice also and his gesture in this direction has earned widespread approval.

\* \* \*

**Bali:** Slowly, but with ever-increasing pace, the life of the Bali islanders is giving way to the colonial reforms of the Dutch government. Taxes of all kinds, imposed for revenue, are robbing the natives of their economic independence and consequently of their leisure and their culture. Besides, tourists are rushing to this island paradise, and with their show of wealth they are corrupting native arts for the production of tinsel souvenirs.

There is in this transformation, according to a correspondent of the *London Times*, much to regret. For Bali is the sole place in the world where there survives a complete native civilization, self-sufficient, thriving and untouched, until recently, by European influences. Its million inhabitants have never had to worry over economic problems. Their land is extremely fertile and yields its fruits with but slight effort. Consequently, the Balinese have been able to develop a culture of their own that is unique for its quality. It is unique also because it is the product not of one class but of communal activity.

Young people in the United States begin their education with reading, writing, and arithmetic. The young Balinese begin with music, dancing, and craftsmanship. And these things are so much a part of their

life that they have evolved graceful and intricate dance forms and rhythms as well as delicate perfection in carving. Before they have reached the age of 20, most young girls are experts in the dance and boys in the crafts. And throughout their lives they are engaged but in perfecting these arts.

\* \* \*

**Chile:** The Chilean congress has promised to cooperate with President Alessandri in the drafting of legislation to improve the living conditions of the "white-collar" classes and the workers. It is these groups



—Courtesy New York Times

## STRATEGIC RAILWAY FOR RUSSIA

When completed, it will enable Russian troops to go through Roumania to the aid of Czechoslovakia.

especially, the government believes, which have suffered most from the depression of recent years.

A maximum is to be placed on the number of working hours of those engaged in the professions of teaching, law, and clerking. When engaged on the same jobs, women are to be granted equal pay with men both in government and in private employment. Moreover, the government is to dismiss all its employees who have a private income of over \$2,000, in order to replace them with those who are unemployed and have no means of livelihood.

Legislation equally progressive, if effectively administered, is proposed for other workers. A special commission is to be formed to determine what constitutes a living wage, and employers will be required to pay this minimum. The commission, in preparing its report, has been advised to take into account not only the food, clothing, and home of the worker, but also the demands of the region in which he happens to live.

\* \* \*

**Roumania:** What is regarded as the first move to offset the growing influence of Germany in Central Europe has been taken by the Roumanian government in its decision to build a strategic railway linking Soviet Russia with Czechoslovakia. This latter country, fearful that the German advance will threaten her independence, has promised to supply Roumania with financial assistance for this project. While there is already a railway between the points of the newly projected line, a part of it passes through Poland and would thus be useless for military movements in the case of a war in which Poland would be aligned with the Reich.

The decision of the Roumanian government reflects the uneasiness with which Hitler's movements are being watched. It also indicates that several European countries which had hitherto relied upon France as guarantor of their independence, are now turning to Soviet Russia. The continent may thus be tending to divide itself into two blocs, one controlled by Russia, the other by Germany.

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IN THE THICK OF THE LATEST REBELLION—BARCELONA FROM THE AIR





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A RESETTLEMENT PROJECT—MODEL FACTORY FOR GARMENT WORKERS AT HEIGHTSTOWN, N. J.

## The Campaign

As this issue of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER goes to press, President Roosevelt, accompanied by three of his sons, is cruising off New England on his way to his summer cottage at Campobello, New Brunswick. At the same time Governor Landon is in the midst of the notification ceremonies at Topeka, where thousands of people will assemble to hear his acceptance speech.

While the President is busy with many official reports and other state papers, the Kansas governor has been holding interviews with prominent leaders. George N. Peek, former AAA administrator, who is opposed to the Hull reciprocal trade agreements, called on Mr. Landon recently. No doubt the farm problem constituted the subject for their conference. Professor Irving Fisher of Yale University, famous as an advocate of the commodity dollar, conferred with Governor Landon recently, as did Bernarr Macfadden, the magazine owner and publisher.

Within recent days some additional light was thrown on the presidential campaign when the *Farm Journal*, published in Philadelphia, announced its poll on Landon and Roosevelt. The poll, limited to farmers, was taken in 32 states. It showed 25,307 votes cast for Landon and 20,869 for Roosevelt. The poll showed the President leading in the farm vote of such pivotal states as Iowa, Maryland, Minnesota, and Washington, while Governor Landon was in the lead in Indiana, Michigan, Missouri, and Wisconsin.

## The Bolters

Bolting is the order of the political season. Party irregularity will be an expected part of the approaching presidential campaign. The announced support of President Roosevelt by Senator George W. Norris of Nebraska is followed by the statement from former Senator William Cabell Bruce, Democrat of

Maryland, that he will support Governor Landon. The expected support of Mr. Roosevelt by Senator Hiram Johnson of California is offset by the statement of Colonel Henry Breckenridge that he will throw his influence to the Kansas governor. Colonel Breckenridge opposed Mr. Roosevelt in the preferential primaries in Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Ohio. While his vote in these contests was small, he is a welcome bolter to the Republican camp.

The preconvention opposition to the renomination of President Roosevelt by prominent Democratic members of the Liberty League—Alfred E. Smith, James A. Reed, Bainbridge Colby, and Joseph B. Ely—is overcome, the Democratic strategists think, by the strength which the Roosevelt-Garner ticket can expect from Labor's Nonpartisan League. This organization sponsored by such labor leaders as Sidney Hillman of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, George L. Berry of the International Pressmen's Union, and John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers, is concentrating its energies on such industrial states as New York, Pennsylvania, and Illinois. Hillman states that their organization is likely to influence 5,000,000 votes.

Recently ex-Governor Ely of Massachusetts announced that he will support Governor Landon. Alfred E. Smith, Democratic presidential nominee in 1928, is reported to have been in conference in New York with John D. Hamilton, Republican National Committee chairman. The bolting of the President by the Eastern Democrats is balanced somewhat by his endorsement by the LaFollette Progressives of Wisconsin, and also by the support from the Farmer Labor group in Minnesota, where Governor Floyd B. Olson and Senator Henrik Shipstead are considered favorable to the New Deal policies.

## The Labor Dispute

The work of the Committee on Industrial Organization is going forward. Headquarters for the promotion of organization have been established near the plants in the steel mill towns. In the northeastern area, covering the region from Youngstown to western Maryland, 11 subregional offices have been opened and nine more will be opened soon. Union organizers claim there is a keen interest in industrial organization. Union officials and employers recognize that the effective organization of the steel industry along industrial lines will mean the death of the company unions. It will also mean that the craft unions, long the mode of organization in American labor circles, will have little influence. However, organizers admit that steel workers are reluctant to join the new unions because of the fear of reprisals from employers.

As unionization is started, the officials of the 12 unions affiliated with the C. I. O. have received notices requesting them to appear before the executive council of the American Federation of Labor on August 3 to answer charges of insubordination. This action was taken on the basis of charges made by John P. Frey, president of the Metal

# The Week in the

## What the American People

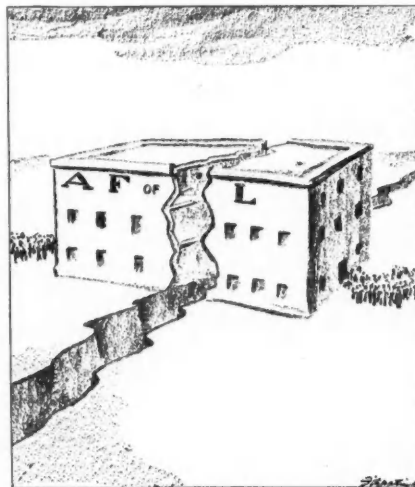
Trades Union of the A. F. of L., who looks upon the scheme of industrial organization as a radical and dangerous procedure. It is expected that the officials of the 12 unions active in the C. I. O. will refuse to appear before the executive council of the A. F. of L.

Meanwhile the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers has refused to affiliate with the plan of industrial organization urged by John L. Lewis and his associates. However, the C. I. O. announces that the unionization of the rayon industry will be started early in August.

## Advice to Resettlers

An information service, to assist farmers who desire to move out of the drought area, is proposed by the Resettlement Administration. This plan, to be placed in operation within a few days, is outlined in a recent statement made by Rexford G. Tugwell, Resettlement Administrator, who has been in the drought area studying conditions.

Mr. Tugwell stated that "advice will be given to all who ask for it concerning opportunities in other places." No effort will be made to move people off the land they now occupy. On the contrary, it is Mr. Tugwell's opinion that some productive land can continue to be found in every farming county in the United States. It will be the policy of his organization to assist in settling people where productive land appears to be available, as well as to prevent as much indiscriminate moving as possible. Farmers who seem to have lost everything as a result of



A HOUSE DIVIDED AGAINST ITSELF

—Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post-Dispatch

the drought will be, according to Tugwell, "no better off in a Pacific coast migratory camp or in a city slum" than they will be by remaining on the drought-stricken land.

## Tariff Agreements

The reciprocal trade agreements, negotiated by Secretary Cordell Hull, during the last year, are certain to be made an issue in the approaching presidential campaign. The Republicans are likely to attack them as injurious to farmers, workingmen, fruit growers, and manufacturers. The Democrats must defend them as part of the program of industrial recovery which they offer the country.

Secretary Hull recently lashed out at the critics of these agreements. He stated that the opponents have distorted the facts in regard to them, especially as they have dealt with agricultural commodities. The secretary of state points out that our exports of farm crops declined in value from \$1,692,900,000 in 1929 to \$662,000,000 in 1932. He further suggests that the trade agreements could not be injuring the farmers, since the total cash farm income for the first five months of 1936 was \$2,664,000,000 against \$2,488,000,000 during the same months in 1935. He insists that

the exports of farm commodities under the agreements have risen. One example of this is the trebling of the value of our lard exports to Cuba, one of the countries which was among the first to negotiate a trade agreement with the United States.

Several impartial observers seem to look with favor upon the Hull trade agreements as a means of stimulating business recovery in the United States. For example, Charles Hodges, professor of political science at New York University and author in the field of international relations, comments pointedly in the July number of *Current History* on the value of the treaties as they appear to him.



WASHINGTON STAFF

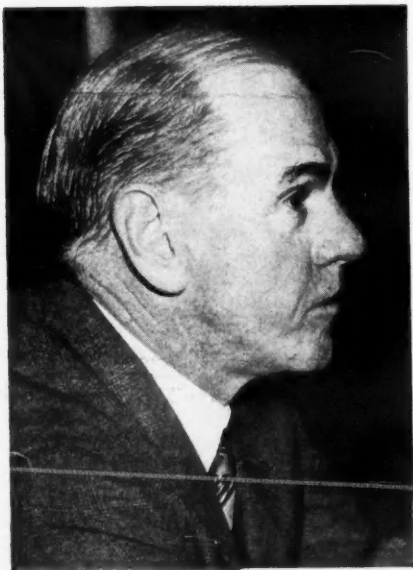
Relying on the fact that only one third of our foreign trade is affected by these trade agreements, Professor Hodges, thinking that organized business has come to look with favor on them, writes:

The statement that "at 12:45 there was signed in the office of the Secretary of State a reciprocal trade agreement between the United States and . . ." has come to mark business hopes rather than business fears. While no statistical appraisal is possible as yet, specific short-range cases, such as that of revived Cuban trade, indicate that "exporting" this part of the New Deal has helped our agriculture, commerce, industry, and finance, and contributed to world recovery as a whole, and in the Cuban instance, stimulated the economic recovery of that country.

## Are Teachers Radical?

The teachers of the United States are no dangerous "radicals." That is the conclusion reached by Dr. George W. Hartmann before a recent meeting of educators at Columbia University. Dr. Hartmann based his report on a questionnaire which was answered by 10,000 high school teachers throughout the country. He concludes that the typical American teacher "approves of many far-reaching reforms, but his dissent from the status quo is that of a gradualist rather than that of a revolutionist."

Among other things the survey reveals that most of the teachers who voted for Hoover in 1932 will vote for Roosevelt this year. Of those who responded, 57 per cent believe that most of the unemployed would never again find steady employment. Only 15 per cent of the teachers thought they should remain entirely neutral on debatable issues both in the classroom and in the community. A clear majority of 59 per cent thought that an average family income of \$4,000 could be obtained if the nation's ability to produce were operated at full capacity. The reporting



© Acme

EUGENE GRACE



# the United States

## Doing, Saying, and Thinking

Further showed that 75 per cent of these teachers favored the creation of a federal department of education.

### Crime Prevention

The organization of the National Crime Prevention Institute, with headquarters at 15 Fourth Avenue, New York, has been announced. Dr. Sheldon Glueck, professor of criminology in the Harvard Law School since 1931, will serve as president of the new agency. Rowland C. Sheldon will be the executive director. The organization will be

recently made by A. G. Black, chief of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. Dr. Black estimates that the total amount of food available for domestic consumption and export, during the year ending June 30, 1937, will be only three per cent less than the 1935-36 supplies and only one per cent under 1934-35.

According to the Black estimates, there will be a shortage of animal feed, especially since corn and oats crops will not produce normal yields. There will be an ample supply of wheat, possibly a slight shortage of dairy products, as well as a shortage of canned, fresh, and dried fruits. However, the vegetable yields are expected to be normal, while it is predicted that there will be an abundance of poultry and eggs.

### Gold Rush

Soon after August 15 the United States Treasury Department will begin the transfer of \$6,000,000,000 in gold bullion from the storage vaults in New York and Philadelphia to the new depository at Fort Knox, Kentucky. Careful preparations are being made for the transfer which will be in charge of government officials. The Post Office Department will prepare the gold for shipment and will supervise the transportation on special trains. In addition to the special guards, each train will carry a company of enlisted men from the United States army. It is estimated that the shipments, as now planned, will cost more than a million dollars.

When placed at Fort Knox, where the depository vaults are now being completed, the gold will be guarded by special agents. These men,



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PROTECTING THE AMERICAN CONSUMER—THE GOVERNMENT'S MEAT TASTERS AT WORK

ship, as in the case of all government workers, must also be satisfied.

The provision to "blanket" workers into civil service status is not the only provision made by the administration to apply the merit system. President Roosevelt has recently pointed out that, either by congressional action or by executive order, the workers of no fewer than 15 government agencies were placed under civil service. The more important of these are the Federal Communications Commission, the Social Security Board, the Farm Credit Administration, the Security and Exchange Commission, the Labor Relations Board, and the Rural Electrification Board.

### In Brief

The contestants from the United States are on their way to Berlin for the Olympics to be held during the first two weeks of August. Our country will be represented this year by 382 athletes, the largest American group ever participating in the Olympics. These athletes, representing every form of sport, constitute not only the largest complement of participants but, some sports experts believe, the best talent ever assembled to represent the United States.

Orders for eight oil tankers, to cost \$13,000,000, have been placed by the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey. These contracts, involving the largest sum ever expended in a shipbuilding order from a private corporation, will, it is estimated, require 7,000,000 hours of labor. Construction will take place at shipyards on the Atlantic coast.

The United States government, through its many departments and bureaus, carries on many experiments with a view to protecting the consumer or assisting the producer. Animal husbandry, plant breeding, researches in public health, control of pests and insects, educational as well as vocational projects constitute a few of the many problems which the federal government investigates. The protection of the consumer against poor quality of meat constitutes one of the many jobs performed by the Department of Agriculture. In the accompanying photograph are seen some of the official meat testers at work.

Labor's Nonpartisan League has opened headquarters in New York. The League is a trade union movement, formed recently to promote the reelection of President Roosevelt and of Governor Lehman. Sponsored by prominent labor leaders, it looks forward to playing an important part in the presidential campaign four years from now.

During the past 30 months the Tenement House Department of New York City has issued orders in more than 3,200 cases to tenement owners to vacate or improve their property. In more than 1,000 cases the houses have actually been vacated in compliance with the department's orders. Langdon W. Post,

Tenement House Commissioner, states that his department is prepared to compel owners of multiple dwellings to vacate them unless they are kept fit for occupancy.

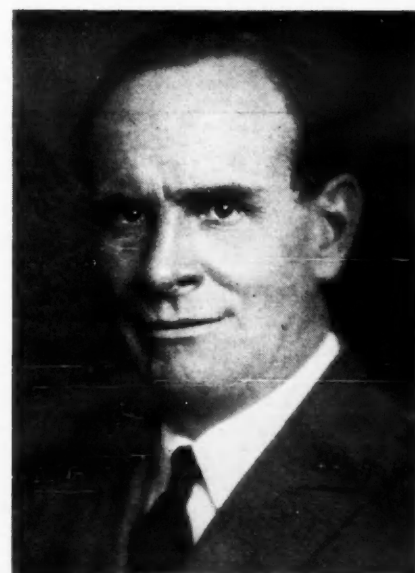
### Names in the News

Brigadier General Pelham D. Glassford, former chief of police of Washington, D. C., is seeking election to Congress from Arizona. General Glassford seeks the place in the House of Representatives now occupied by Mrs. Isabella Greenway, who declines to run for reelection. General Glassford will be remembered for his tactful handling of the unemployed veterans who assembled in Washington during the summer of 1932 to demand relief from the government.

Eugene G. Grace, president of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, in a recent address at Bethlehem, predicted an improvement in the steel business in the near future. Automobile buying and heavy construction would be the chief factors contributing to the improvement, according to Mr. Grace.

Louis Murphy, United States senator from Iowa and supporter of the New Deal agricultural policies, was killed a few days ago when the automobile he was driving skidded from the highway.

Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, in a special church service for students of Columbia University, recently told his hearers that the spread of personal pacifism is the easiest way to keep us out of the next war. He characterized the nations of the world as glaringly deficient because they have not ceded to a "strong centralized authority the right of using violence against each other."



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PELHAM D. GLASSFORD



© Wide World

### THE HEAT WAVE

managed by a board of directors recruited from all parts of the country.

President Glueck stated that the function of the Institute was to promote crime prevention in areas in the United States where other agencies were not doing this work. It is not the desire of the new agency to compete with any existing organization active in this field. The Institute seeks the coordination of crime prevention societies. Furthermore, it hopes to demonstrate the possibility of preventing crime in areas where no such work is being done.

### Butler Speaks

President Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia University, upon his return from Europe a few days ago, was willing to give his impressions of world conditions. Among other things, he criticized the Republican platform as exemplifying "economic nationalism of the most dangerous sort." Dr. Butler, who has been a delegate to many Republican national conventions, was not selected to serve as a delegate to the recent Cleveland convention.

In his recent report as president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the Columbia president expressed the opinion that the only thing which can prevent economic and political disaster for the world is the calling of a world economic conference. This conference, which Dr. Butler thinks should be called by the United States, should deal with international trade, budget balancing, and monetary policies.

### Enough Food

Despite the drought, there will be no serious food shortage in the United States during the next year. This is the gist of a report



"WELL, THEY LOOK BETTER THAN YOUR SACKCLOTH!"  
—Elderman in Washington Post

selected because of special fitness, will be in constant contact with the army post at Fort Knox, from which aid can be summoned should it be needed.

### Workers Blanketed

The United States Civil Service Commission, upon an order from President Roosevelt, announced recently that all employees of emergency government agencies would be required to meet civil service standards. The regulation applies to employees in such New Deal agencies as PWA, AAA, WPA, TVA, and RA. It is in line with a demand for applying the merit system in the public service.

These workers are to be "blanketed" into the status of permanent employment under certain conditions. They must have been employed for 60 days prior to the transfer to civil service status. It will be necessary for them to be "unqualifiedly recommended" to the Civil Service Commission by the head of the agency in which they are employed. In addition, they must pass noncompetitive tests to satisfy the Commission of fitness for their positions. The requirement of citizen-



## Historical Backgrounds

By David S. Muzzey and Paul D. Miller

### The Heyday of American Liberalism

WHILE the defeat of William Jennings Bryan in the historic political battle of 1896 appeared to sound the death knell to the progressive movement and make America safe for Big Business, such was not actually the case. The early years of the century saw the rise of the liberal or progressive movement once more and its actual accession to political power. Although Woodrow Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt differed as to method, their basic aims were more or less identical and each sought, in his own way, to revamp the political and economic system so as to bring greater benefits to the great American masses. It is essential, before taking up the important political campaign of 1912, to glance at the outstanding characteristics of the Rooseveltian and Wilsonian philosophies.

Many students of history have failed to see any difference between the system of Roosevelt, which was called the New Nationalism, and that of Wilson, which has come to be known as the New Freedom. In speaking of the two philosophies, William Allen White has said: "Between the New Nationalism and the New Freedom was that fantastic imaginary gulf that always has existed between tweedledum and tweedledee." But the actual differences were greater than appeared on the surface.

#### Roosevelt's Views

In the first place, Roosevelt accepted the rise of Big Business as inevitable. It was not his purpose to attempt to halt the process of industrialization that had made such rapid strides during the post-Civil War period. He did think, however, that capitalism should not be allowed to develop unchecked, and for that reason advocated that stronger powers be placed in the hands of the federal government. Political power commensurate with the economic power of the business rulers of the day was one of the main tenets of his social philosophy. It was his aim to regulate capitalism in such a way as to benefit all the people; it was not his aim to stop the growth of capitalism and to restore an earlier and less complicated economic order.

Woodrow Wilson, as liberal in his philosophy as Roosevelt, envisaged something else for America. In the broader sense, he was a Jeffersonian. Like Jefferson, he had the vision of an America composed of small farmers, craftsmen, and business establishments. The America of giant corporations was distasteful to him, and it was his desire to restore conditions as they had existed before the advent of highly developed industrialism. Unlike Roosevelt, he did not believe in a superstate capable of regulating and controlling monopoly capitalism. In a word, it was Woodrow Wilson's primary aim to enforce the *laissez-faire* system of capitalism which had been destroyed by the growth of trusts and monopolies. If free competition could once more be restored to America, everything would be all right and an equitable system would result.

#### Campaign of 1912

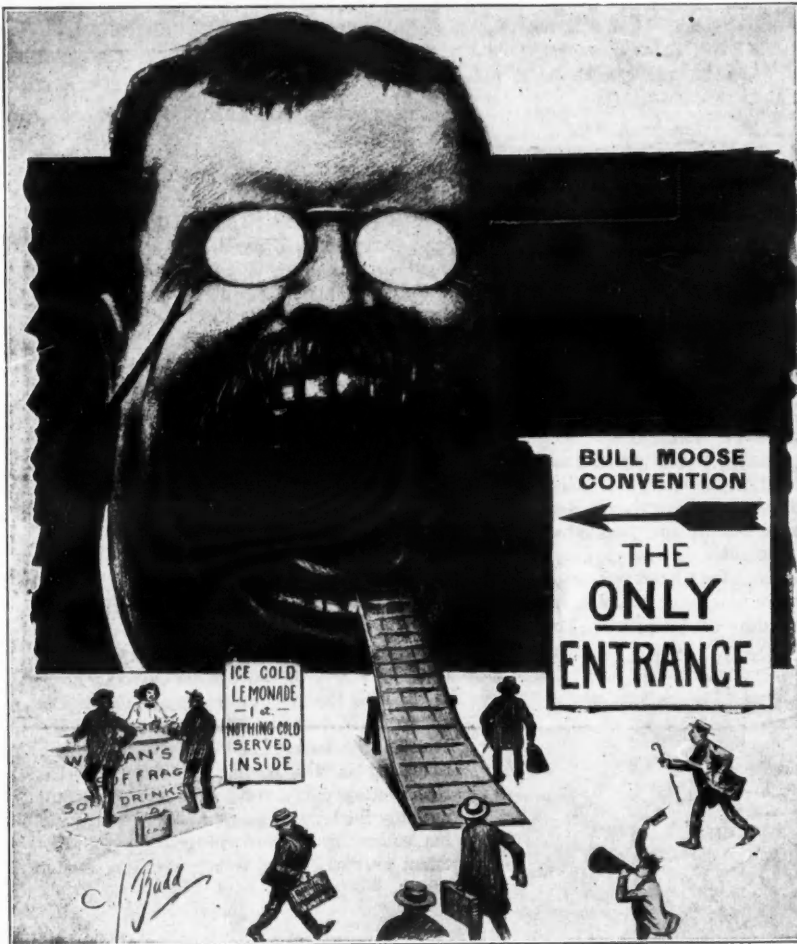
The campaign of 1912 was a bitter one from the beginning. Feeling between President Taft and ex-President Roosevelt ran high, each accusing the other of unfair practices. Upon his return from Africa, Roosevelt found himself in disagreement with the program that Taft, for whose election he had been responsible, had carried out. Several months before the Republican convention assembled, it was clear that Roosevelt's hat was in the ring and that he would seek to win the nomination for himself. But in order to run for the

presidency it was not thought that he would have to break completely away from the party and establish a new party.

The progressive wing of the party attempted to seize control of the Republican machine in much the same way as progressive and conservative wings of both parties had often done in the past. It was this technique that was followed by the radical wing of the Democratic party when it placed

was split and the Democrats reaped a double benefit.

Despite the terrific handicaps under which the Progressive party labored, its record in the campaign was impressive. Roosevelt polled a total of 4,126,020 votes as compared with 3,483,922 for Taft and 6,286,214 for Wilson. This showing was particularly notable when one considers that the party was organized only a few weeks before the election, that it had no regular party machine to help its candidate. In addition to losing a large section of the liberal vote to Wilson, the Progressives were handicapped by not having the united support of the progressive Republicans. Senator La Follette, for example, who had been one of the leaders in the left wing of the Republican party,



A CARTOON WHICH APPEARED DURING THE CAMPAIGN OF 1912

Bryan in nomination on several occasions. Thus during the months that preceded the Chicago convention of the Republicans, Roosevelt supporters tried to round up a sufficiently large number of delegates to capture the nomination for their chief.

When the convention opened, many of the seats were contested between Taft and Roosevelt delegates. The Republican National Committee had organized the convention and had the intention of controlling it. Thus when the contested seats were decided, the decision was, in every case but one, in Taft's favor. The Roosevelt delegates were simply refused seats in the convention and were thus rendered impotent in trying to capture the party machine. It was clear that the progressives would not abide by the decision of the convention and the formation of a third party was considered only a matter of time.

#### The Progressives

When the newly organized Progressive party held its convention in Chicago in August, it was generally assumed that the election would go to the Democrats because of the split in the Republican party. Moreover, the Democratic cause was further aided by the character of its candidate. Had the Democrats nominated a conservative, it is likely that many liberal or progressive members of the party would have deserted to the Progressive cause. But Woodrow Wilson himself represented a political and social point of view that was as liberal as that of Roosevelt. Consequently, the liberal vote of the country

gave no support to Roosevelt. Furthermore, the Socialists, from whom the Republicans might normally be expected to draw considerable strength, polled nearly a million votes in 1912. Thus, all these factors considered, the Progressives made a truly remarkable showing in their struggle for political power.

If the outcome of the election of 1912 indicated anything clearly, it was that the temper of the country was liberal. The movement of protest against certain of the economic abuses which had been developing continued to grow and demanded definite action. Wilson himself had been conscious of the growing discontent, for in 1911 he made this statement: "There is a tremendous undercurrent of protest which is bound to find expression. Taft will be renominated by the Republicans; unless the Democrats nominate someone whom the people can accept as expressing this protest, there will be a radical third party formed and the result of the election may be little short of a revolution."

#### Triumph of Liberalism

The early record of the Wilson administration is as brilliant as any in American history. With a clarity of purpose and a fierce determination, the second Democratic President since the Civil War went about putting his program into effect. His main purpose was to reform the economic system of the country so as to eliminate many of its inequalities. "We must abolish everything that bears even the semblance of privilege," he said. He dealt a severe blow at the interests by pushing through

a measure lowering the tariff. It was his idea that the President should be a strong man, and used the power of his office to coerce Congress when that body seemed unwilling to follow his leadership. Whenever Congress appeared unwilling to put through his program, he threatened to appeal directly to the people.

For a while, it appeared that the cause of liberalism had triumphed. President Wilson kept Congress in session for 17 of the 18 months between April 1913, when the first extra session was called, and October 1914, when the second session adjourned. During that time the banking system of the country had been overhauled with the organization of the Federal Reserve System; legislation designed to break the power of trusts had been passed; several measures giving benefits to the laboring classes had been placed on the statute books; and dozens of other reform acts had been carried out. But already there appeared on the horizon clouds which were to have an ominous effect upon the future of America. With the outbreak of the World War in the summer of 1914 the United States was obliged to turn its attention more and more to foreign matters. What the final record of the Wilsonian era of liberalism might have been had the World War not intervened will never be known.

### THOUGHTS AND SMILES

Before the end of the summer, the *Literary Digest* says, you can fly around the world in two weeks. Then you will be just where you were—minus \$2,500. —NEW YORKER

There are said to be 17,000,000 telephones in the United States and 15,000,000 in the rest of the world, but both of these may be wrong numbers. —LOUISVILLE TIMES

The world is sick, a New York scientist says. This part of it certainly has been running a temperature. —ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

Alaska has no place for outcasts or criminals, and we will not consent to making a prison of Alaska if we can help it.—Leo Roggs, Alaskan fraternal leader

Governor Landon is understood to be very particular about the color of his residence. Of course, he prefers a white house. —NORFOLK LEDGER-DISPATCH

The cost of living will continue to rise as long as today's luxuries become tomorrow's necessities. —WASHINGTON POST

Americanism: Spending two hours buying a life insurance policy and two-tenths of a second going through the grade crossing. —JUDGE

During a certain dance East African natives hop around one another and pat each other on the chest. In England that is known as heavy-weight boxing. —PUNCH

A doctor says that spinach has no more dietary value than any other fresh vegetable. If the kids don't like the stuff, let them eat kale. —NEW YORKER

Writers say business has a "strong undertone." Can that be the growling we hear? —BURLINGTON HAWKEYE GAZETTE

Add Americana: Going a thousand miles to get a tan, when the sun shines just as hot at home. —ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

The modern criminal, like the modern businessman, is a commuter, and he relies on the barriers provided by conflicting and confusing state laws to protect him.—Judge Richard Hartsborne, Newark, N. J.

It is estimated that enough chewing gum was sold last year to supply a wad for every theatre seat in the country. —GRAND ISLAND INDEPENDENT

Ask a delegate his impression of a keynote speech and he'll probably answer, "Three long years." —SAGINAW (MICH.) NEWS

There are said to be 10,000,000 unemployed in the United States. It's hard to believe that there are that many people unrelated to some public official. —GRAND RAPIDS (MICH.) PRESS

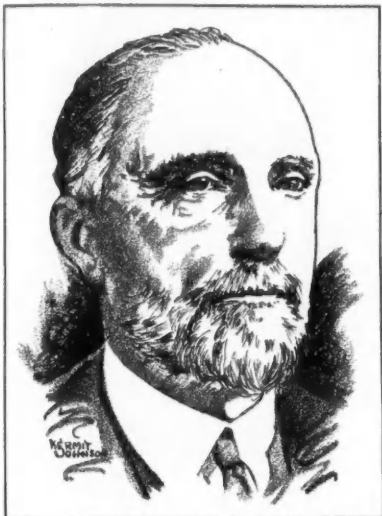


DAVID S. MUZZEY

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## Among the New Books



—Drawn by Johnson

COUNT CARLO SFORZA

### Philippine Customs

"Odyssey of the Islands," by Carl N. Taylor (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, \$3).

CARL N. TAYLOR had been an instructor at the University of the Philippines, but he grew impatient with the quiet scholarly life whose gamut of adventure was spanned at one end by the classroom and at the other by the library. Unlike normal young men, however, who channel their boredom into sonnets of self-pity, Taylor decided to seek out excitement of the strangest sort. He had heard odd tales of some of the 4,000 islands which make up the Philippine Archipelago, stories of sea rovers and savage pygmies, of headhunters, and of infested jungles far removed from the civilization of Manila.

Mr. Taylor set out to investigate the truth of these reports. He intended to spend one month on his journey. He was gone for more than a year, and what he saw during that time is recorded in this volume. One would have to be intolerably sophisticated to find in it a single dull page, for the author has some amazing stories to tell. He visited the sea gypsies, who spend most of their lives on boats, following the fishes as "nomads follow the flocks." While among them, he was taken ill, and he tells in vivid detail how a witch doctor tried to cure him of his ailment through strange rites. He went among the Ibalao, those savages who have adapted themselves admirably to jungle life. When they go from place to place they do not walk upon the ground but rather above the tree tops. By means of a long pole, hooked at either end, they join tree to tree and quickly run along the pole. Hardly have they stepped onto this second tree when the pole is disengaged from the first one and swung over to a third tree. In this way, they are able to go long distances unimpeded by jungle growth.

This, however, is all very mild. Mr. Taylor tells also of the Negritos, midgets in size, but savages who take no chances with strangers and shoot from ambush all who approach their villages. He made friends, too, with the headhunters who have decidedly discomfiting manners, such as those which dictate that before a young man seeks a bride he display his prowess by bringing his lady-love a man's head, fresh from the killing. The author, in this connection, tells a rather amusing incident of one young savage who had accepted the Christian faith and who was therefore opposed to so light-headed a custom. When the young lady upon whom he had set his heart refused to have him as her husband until such time as a severed head lay securely in her lap, he was left in a rather difficult position. The reader will be no little surprised to learn how this drama ended.

There is a great deal more to this vol-

ume. It has been possible to suggest but slightly the nature of its contents. The author faced death a number of times during his adventures, and of each of them he makes an exciting story. There is a touch of irony in the fact that after having borne through so much, Mr. Taylor was found slain last winter, following his investigation of certain mystical sects in New Mexico.

### Europe Since the War

"Europe and Europeans—A Study in Historical Psychology and International Politics," by Count Carlo Sforza (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, \$2.75).

THIS is one of those currently popular books of memoirs by statesmen who have retired from the field of international politics. Count Sforza has himself played a significant part in the foreign affairs of his country. It was during the early post-war period, when whole nations were being reconstructed by treaties, that he was Italian foreign minister. At the present time, he is an exile from Italy, a condition which he imposed upon himself when he found that free discussion of problems was not permitted by Mussolini.

In his leisure, Count Sforza has had time for mature reflection upon the problems facing Europe. His views have already become known through his earlier writings. The present volume, again revealing his passionate defense of liberty and his sober views, deals with post-war affairs on the European continent. The author is not interested in merely a superficial repetition of incidents but rather in a reasoned understanding of why governments and statesmen have acted as they did. While this approach undoubtedly lends him scope for some rather brilliant interpretations, it suffers in making some of his text difficult of understanding by the ordinary layman. Assuming that the reader is aware of certain basic information, he plunges at once into his theme, thus causing considerable confusion. The reader who meets with no such difficulty or who is supremely indifferent to it will find this volume full of penetrating, if subdued, light.

### The English Countryside

"Gone Afield," by Cecil Roberts. Illustrated (New York: D. Appleton-Century, \$2.50).

THIS is the final volume of series in which Mr. Roberts lets his fancy roam over the English countryside. Like its two predecessors, "Gone Rustic" and "Gone Rambling," this volume will not fit into any tidy classification. The author treats a host of matters. Occasionally he will tell a story or an anecdote. Sometimes he will muse in mellow vein over the ways of the world. Often, too, he is tempted to indulge in a bit of neighborly gossip, not malicious, yet far enough removed from the ordinary to whet one's secret appetite.

As readers of the previous two volumes know, Mr. Roberts always begins his ram-

bling at his own home, Pilgrim's Cottage, which is not very far from London. Leaving his garden, he goes in leisurely gait along country roads to stop at inns or old baronial castles. And at each of these he picks up the thread of some story and dwells upon it until it yields an amazing variety of detail.

### From the Magazines

"Industrial Labor in India," by B. Shiva Rao. Foreign Affairs, July, 1936.

THOUGH India has made rapid strides in industrialization, legislation to protect the growing body of workers has lagged far behind. Mr. Rao concedes that there have been some attempts to aid the laborers, as in the reduction of maximum hours of work per day from 12 to nine. But this legislation has affected only one-fifth of the 25,000,000 engaged in industry; and even then, the legislation is so laxly administered as to be of slight relief. There are but few officials to see that the law is enforced and where they are not, the workers are seldom in a position to bring their employer to court. Thus the entirely inadequate legislation is rendered practically worthless to the Indian workers.

Of the really vital problems of the Indian working classes, the writer maintains, none has been seriously attacked. Because of the crisis in agriculture, which engages three-fourths of India's population, many of the people are swarming to the cities looking for work. The employment market is thus overcrowded and wage scales are consequently forced downward. At the present time, an able-bodied worker can hope to earn from \$5 to \$6 per month, some of which he frequently has to pay to some foreman as a bribe. Only in this way can he be sure that he will be able to keep his job.

It is natural that conditions in the industrial centers should prove appalling. In the city of Bombay, 90 per cent of the inhabitants live in single-room tenements, four being the average number of occupants for each of these single rooms. Thirty-three per cent of the people in Bombay live in single rooms occupied by more than five individuals. It has been revealed that in some quarters of the city as many as six families, comprising as many as 30 individuals, had to live in the same ill-ventilated and unsanitary room.

As yet the workers are not organized with sufficient strength to make any concerted effort to improve their lot. Their attempts at organization are continually being hindered by the fact that the police are naturally suspicious of all mass movements in India, no matter whether these be intended for political protests or for the legitimate purpose of collective bargaining. In practically all disputes the police side with the employers, regarding strikes as a matter of public order, to be suppressed by guns and imprisonment.

There is some hope, however, that the new constitution, which extends the franchise to about 35,000,000 people, will afford the workers an opportunity to air their grievances. And unless the government



—Courtesy Philippine Bureau of Science  
TERRACING IN ONE OF THE LOWER VALLEYS OF THE PHILIPPINES

pays heed to their demands, the author continues, a great clash is inevitable.

"Hypodermics for a Dying Race," by Willard Price. Asia, August, 1936.

OF THE many islands that dot the South Pacific, more than 1,400 are administered by Japan under a mandate. It has been frequently charged that the Japanese government is gradually wiping out the Polynesian race in these islands in order to populate them with its own people. According to the author of this article, these charges are utterly unfounded. On the contrary, he insists, the mandatory power is taking enlightened measures to insure the future of the natives.

Its task is not an easy one. The decline of the Polynesians began with the first Spanish explorers to their shores. Since that time there has been a steady decrease in the birth rate and an increasing death rate. One factor, more than any other, contributed to this decline. That was the influx of the white man.

It is true that the natives have always lived according to standards which would hardly be deemed sanitary among ourselves. For example, their houses afforded but little air or sunlight and even less sanitation. Their customs, too, did not make for health. At the death of a chieftain his followers would wash his body in water which they would later drink, hoping thereby to imbibe some of his departed strength. Or if one of the natives had a fever, he would be plunged into the sea, there to be cooled off.

The habits of the people were also most irregular. Farmers, to take one instance, would work all day in the fields without eating, fearful lest the gods of the crops would be annoyed by a display of gluttony. The, having returned at evening to their homes, they would gorge themselves with food.

Yet despite these primitive customs, the Polynesians managed not only to survive but also to grow. During thousands of years of development they had accustomed themselves to this way of life and had become immune to various diseases and infections. When, however, the first white invader arrived, he left with the Polynesians new kinds of disease against which they could offer no resistance. And here the medicine man was helpless.

It is with this problem that the Japanese are dealing. They have set up hospitals and training schools for nurses. And each year young native girls are taken from the villages and taught the elements of hygiene. When they have completed their course of study, they return to their homes and there begin their work. It is an interesting sidelight, revealing the psychology of the Polynesian mind, that when the nurses offered their services free of charge, the natives were skeptical of their value. Now that the nurses have begun to accept a slight fee,



JACKET ILLUSTRATION FROM "GONE AFIELD" BY CECIL ROBERTS



# Townsend, Coughlin, and Smith Join Hands at Cleveland Meeting

(Concluded from page 1)

thets at President Roosevelt which many consider would have been in poor taste if used against one in a far less dignified position than that of the Chief Executive of the nation. At the same time, they applauded wildly when one of the speakers made a stirring defense for the policies of the present administration. The whole spectacle took on the air of a revival meeting, where emotions ran wild and clear thinking was conspicuous by its absence. Thus it is hard to determine how this rather incongruous group will vote when election day comes.

## May Influence Election

Nevertheless, Father Coughlin, Dr. Townsend, and the Reverend Mr. Smith are convinced that they can swing millions of votes to Representative Lemke between now and November. They are planning to tour the country together, pleading his

be raised by placing a tax of two per cent on every business transaction in the country. Thus when a farmer sold his wheat to a flour mill he would have to pay a two per cent tax; when the mill sold the flour to a baker another two per cent would be charged. This process would be repeated until every product or commodity reached the final consumer. In this way, the estimated \$20,000,000 a year required to pay the pensions would be raised.

Opponents of the Townsend plan are by no means convinced by the arguments advanced in its favor. They contend that it would bankrupt the country; would reduce the purchasing power of the masses by increasing the cost of everything they buy; and would merely result in transferring a part of the national income from one section of the population to another. But since we are not dealing exclusively with the arguments for and against the Townsend plan, we must confine ourselves to the statement that it is one of the most controverted issues before the American people today, advocates of it contending firmly that it would solve most of the nation's economic ills and opponents branding it as the most fantastic, harebrained scheme ever foisted upon a gullible public.

## Coughlin's Program

Father Coughlin's program, on the other hand, is somewhat more comprehensive than that of Dr. Townsend. The radio priest's views on important national issues may be gathered from the 16 planks of his National League for Social Justice. Here they are:

- (1) Liberty of conscience and of education; (2) a living annual wage; (3) nationalization of banking and currency and of natural resources; (4) private ownership of all other property; (5) control of private property for the public good; (6) government banking; (7) congressional coinage; (8) steady currency value; (9) cost of production plus a fair value for agriculture; (10) labor unions under government protection; (11) recall of nonproductive bonds; (12) abolition of tax-free bonds; (13) social taxation; (14) simplification of government; (15) in war the conscription of wealth; (16) human rights to be preferred to property rights.

The Reverend Mr. Smith, third member of the triumvirate formed at Cleveland, is advocating a program that is relatively simple. It is merely the share-the-wealth movement which Huey Long was getting so well under way at the time of his assassination. Senator Long himself was never very

cause. It is not a question of whether these men will be able to swing enough votes to elect the Union party candidate. Such an eventuality is considered extremely improbable. But their influence may determine the outcome of the election, as the influence of third parties has sometimes done in the past. If enough votes can be swung from either President Roosevelt or Governor Landon to Representative Lemke, the power of this third party movement would be tremendous. But before going further into some of the political implications of the movement, let us turn our attention to some of the outstanding demands of the three leaders.

Most of our readers are familiar with the main features of the Townsend plan. It provides, in brief, that Congress shall pass a law providing that every citizen 60 years of age and over shall receive a pension of \$200 a month provided that (1) he stop all other work and draw no other income, and that (2) he pledge himself to spend the entire amount of his pension during the month he receives it.

## Townsend Plan

Such a law, according to the Townsends, would not only give elderly people an opportunity to retire with the assurance of a decent income, but it would also bring prosperity to the entire nation. If approximately 8,000,000 people were able to spend \$200 a month, the business of the country would be stimulated as it has never been stimulated before. Moreover, proponents of the plan continue, the mere retiring of all those 60 and over from industry would furnish millions of jobs for younger workers and solve the unemployment problem.

The money to pay these pensions would



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MR. TOWNSEND AND FATHER COUGHLIN AT CLEVELAND

specific as to the details of his program of sharing the nation's wealth so that all might enjoy a comfortable living. One gathered from his speeches, however, that he would limit the size of personal fortunes to about \$4,000,000 a year.

## Emotional Appeal

An examination of the platforms of these men, together with that of Mr. Lemke, whose principal claim to recognition was his sponsorship, during the last session of Congress, of an inflationary measure, shows that in the main they are vague and indefinite. The Townsends confine themselves largely to one measure. Father Coughlin's 16 planks are, many of them, not specific. And the mysteries of the share-the-wealth movement have never yet been clearly unfolded to meet the requirements of sound logic or good economics. The main force of all these movements has been their emotional appeal to classes which have suffered bitterly as a result of the depression.

Because of the particular methods followed by all three of these men, certain students of public affairs see in the movements a dangerous trend toward fascism. The joining of forces seems to them a particularly significant development. Dorothy Thompson, one of the most competent students of the National Socialist movement in Germany, declares in her column in the New York *Herald-Tribune* that the Cleveland combination "is a nearer approach to a national fascist tendency than any which America has yet developed." Miss Thompson goes on to point out the similarity between certain features of the Coughlin and Lemke programs and the program upon which the German Nazis waged their campaign. In many cases, she points out, there are the same tactics, the same type of oratory, the same stirring of class hatreds, the constant campaigning against alien doctrines and influences. Miss Thompson continues:

## A Fascist Trend?

Lemke, Coughlin, and Smith attack the moneyed interests of Wall Street, the gold standard, and the "reactionaries, socialists,

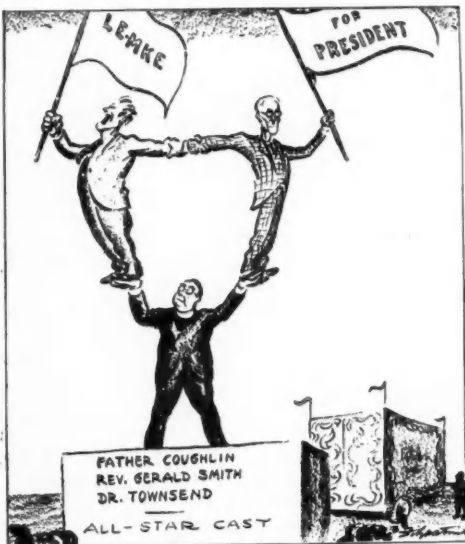
communists, and radicals," but they reserve their greatest vituperation for advanced liberalism which they lump with socialism. So did Mr. Hitler. . . .

The combination of monetary radicalism, plus hundred percentism, and hatred of so-called alien ideas, plus the belief in the capitalistic system of production, plus extended state powers to guarantee annual wages and general social security, were all characteristic of the Nazi movement before it came into power.

Raymond Gram Swing, also a close student of European affairs, saw the same danger in the doctrines of Father Coughlin long before the Cleveland convention. In commenting upon the 16 planks of the National League for Social Justice, Mr. Swing wrote: "But in the 16 planks there is no word of democratic government, and the right of free speech is not mentioned." He then goes on to quote Father Coughlin as follows: "Make the Department of Labor a real power! Let it take over the functions of collective bargaining—the functions which the A. F. of L. is now trying to fulfil. Let it supplant the A. F. of L. entirely. Why should the workers pay dues to a labor organization to protect a right which is guaranteed by law? The service of the federation should be a government service paid for by taxation." This sounds very well, says Mr. Swing, but "Germany and Italy, on the one hand, and Russia, on the other, have government-organized unions. Which is Father Coughlin thinking of? The question is easily answered: he is a foe of communism. He wants a fascist solution of the labor problem."

Charges such as these are vigorously denied by all who subscribe to the doctrines of Messrs. Townsend, Lemke, Smith, and Coughlin. They contend that the sole purpose of these men is to work out an economic system that will benefit all the people and to bring an end to the abuses which have resulted in such bitter hardship to large sections of the population. It is probably true that all of them are sincere in the work they have undertaken and that all would be horrified if charged with leading a fascist movement in this country. But those who see danger point out that the record of other nations is such as to show that the final outcome of mass movements of this kind cannot always be seen at their beginnings.

As Miss Thompson points out in the column from which we have already quoted, the final effect upon American life of such movements as these will depend upon many things. "First, and most importantly, it depends on whether in the next four years this country has mounting prosperity and social peace. It depends, secondly, on whether any leader emerges who is capable of uniting groups of similar tendency into a welded movement—a man who really desires power and the responsibility that goes with it. . . . And it depends, finally, on how enlightened American conservatives prove themselves to be. If a left-radical and a right-radical movement each get started here, as they have done in nearly every European country, and men who call themselves conservatives begin giving aid and comfort to the one in the hope of defeating the other, then we will be well started on the road over which much of Europe has gone."



THE POLITICAL SIDESHOW

—Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post-Dispatch



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DELEGATES TO THE TOWNSEND CONVENTION